1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13



responsible for the children, especially during their early years, but they are frequently sent 'to the *oluina*', i.e. to the mother's brother for at least a part of their education. Herein has arisen a conflict between the claims of the paternal household and the maternal kinship group. Economic and other forces seem to have favoured the former so that 'During these days in which we stand, things have changed somewhat so that as between children and their parents, they work for their fathers for they say, "A child is strong with his *oluse* and less so with his *oluina*." Nowadays a man teaches a child work and also looks out for his education that he may advance properly. His mother's brothers (*va inamu*) have no longer much power as of old.'[1]

Bearing in mind their bilateral nature and the fact that every Ocimbundu belongs at the same time to his paternal (*oluse*) and to his maternal (*oluina*) groups, the functions of these kinship groups may be summarized as follows:

| *Oluse* | *Oluina* |
|---|---|
| **SOCIAL** | |
| Consists of local residence units; succession of village and tribal offices from father to son, or elder to younger brother. | Extended family organization; office of family head descends from mother's brother to sister's son; children belong. |
| *Marriage allowed* between cross-cousins and other relatives of non-parallel descent; couple lives at groom's father's village. | *Marriage preferred* between cross-cousins and other relatives of non-parallel descent; children belong to mother's *oluina*. |
| **EDUCATIONAL** | |
| Responsibility for education of young children, especially in social usage. | Responsibility sometimes assumed in later childhood, especially for technical phases. |
| **ECONOMIC** | |
| Ownership and inheritance of land. (Passed from father to son or elder to younger brother.) | Ownership and inheritance of more largely negotiable and movable property, as e.g. trade goods, cattle, &c. (passed from mother's brother to sister's son). |

[1] Raul Kavita Evambi, *op. cit.*

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13



601

I. Grandparents.
II. Parents.
III. Speaker's generation.
IV. Children.
V. Grandchildren.

Numbers on the left of the sign (—) refer to males, those on the right, to females.

The terms of relationship used in Tables E and F are as follows:

1. *Ukui wange.* My wife (vocative). Ngonga's wife calls him *wyange*, my husband.
2. *Mume, manje, manjange.* Younger brother.
3. *Kota, kuwa.* Older brother.
4. *Mbuale.* Sister (vocative). *Mukui wange.* Sister (nonvocative).
5. *Nawa.* In-laws of speaker's generation.
6. *Ndatembo.* In-laws of ascending or descending generation.
7. *Tate.* Father.
8. *Mai.* Mother.
9. *Aphai.* Father's sister (female father).
10. *Omolange.* Child, used for speaker's family only.
11. *Ocimamba.* Children of spouse's family.
12. *Mowa, inawa.* Mother's brother (direct ascendant).
13. *Kulu.* An old person in grandparent's and grandchild's generation.
    *Sekulu, kukulalu.* Male grandparents.
14. *Meikulu.* Female grandparents.
15. *Onekulu.* Grandchild of either sex.
16. *Upolowa.* Mother's brother's or father's sister's children.
17. *Cikulowa.* Father's sister's husband.

NOTE: Age distinctions are made chiefly in the speaker's own generation.

## LAW AND GOVERNMENT

In dealing with marriage rites it was stated that a woman had to contribute certain articles to the home; these are the utensils that she uses in her daily work. The baskets, pottery, pounders, and brushes may seem insignificant, but nevertheless there are rules regulating their disposal at death. Her husband will retain some of the articles; the remainder will be shared among the deceased woman's sisters.

428
422

The disposal of a widow is a matter for discussion among the relatives. The husband makes no bequest to his widow and children, though the children may receive a small gift of a pig or some corn. The property of a man is bequeathed to his mother's brother or to his sister's sons. The eldest brother of the deceased or the maternal uncle of the widow takes her to his house along with her children. If her father is alive he may take her. Ngonga says that each responsible relative says, "It is better that you should take her"; at last some one says, "I will take her."

768

When explaining the system of inheritance Ngonga was clear on two points. In the first place wives and children of the deceased are

428

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13



itself is *onoma*. The flat wooden drum without membrane is *ocingufu*, 534
the player of this drum is *usiki wocingufu* (Plate XXVII, Fig. 2). 463
The long tubular drums vary in length from 50 to 103 cm. At a funeral, four of these tubular drums, which are usually held between the legs or placed upright, are played in compound rhythm. A performer always warms the skin of the drum at a fire, and sometimes the pitch is altered by sticking a lump of wax on the membrane of a long drum, or on the sides of a wooden drum.

Dr. Herzog reports as follows, after transcribing several cylinders 533
of phonographic records of rhythms played on the long drum, and after examining motion pictures which were synchronized with the drumming (Plates XXV, XXVI).

"These motion pictures indicate the position of the performer's hands, and suggest that the sharply accented tones are produced by impacts from the phalanges. The higher notes so produced have been marked by notes above the line. A mark placed between notes indicates a very short rest.

"No. 1 (dictaphone record 3) represents the drumming of a young player, who is apparently still an apprentice, since his rhythm is very simple. The three forms of his playing given below were used interchangeably, and he shifted from one to the other without stopping. In the second form, the order of the sharp and of the plain beat is reversed. Otherwise, the sharp beat occurs, in the playing of all drummers, on the off beat. The rhythm of No. 2 (dictaphone record 15) is a little more varied because the player was changed. The drummer of No. 3 (dictaphone record 30) was the best performer in the neighborhood, according to Mr. Hambly; and his playing is the most interesting. The drum records consist of a small number of rhythms which are freely interchanged; the two predominating rhythms are given below. The moving pictures were made from this player's performance.

"The notations found here do not convey to the reader the bewildering complexity of African rhythm, for this appears only when a performance includes the use of several drums and musical instruments in conjunction with dancing."

From Ngalangi a large friction drum 120 cm long and 47 cm in 534
diameter was obtained. This instrument, which was the property [422]
of the village, was played only on public occasions. Apparently the drum had been hollowed from a log of wood, one end of which was left open while the other was covered with hide. To the inner side of this hide a long cane was attached. On the side of the drum

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

[1874-1911]



slave. Once ransomed a boy could not be sold again. If, however, the father was displeased with his son's behaviour he could refuse to ransom him. When a man died, his adolescent sons would go to the household of a classificatory father and the children who did not yet 'have sense' would go with the widow to her kin, returning to their agnatic kin when they were older.

### 4. *Analysis of the Old Kinship System*

The ethnography of the Ovimbundu does show that there existed a double-descent kinship system, each individual belonging to both a local patrilineal group, and a dispersed matrilineal group, in which movable property is inherited. So great has been the impact of social change that not only have these groups disappeared but it is practically impossible to gain additional information on them by direct questions about their nature and functions. The information on kinship norms does give a somewhat clearer picture.

Within the village there was a very strong emphasis on the unity and solidarity of the men of the village. The men's house was the main social centre of the village where the men ate, received guests, and listened to cases. It was about it rather than about the person of the headman that ritual clustered.[20] The elementary family was not the unit of domestic consumption, and it is clear, from the taboos regarding contact with women kin, and the evidence as to the social life of the man's house that there was little recreational contact between the sexes. The concept of *ondjamba*[21] shows that the elementary family of husband, wife, and children, was morally and ritually significant, but many of the educational, nutritive, and recreational functions frequently associated with it were here attached to the men's house.

The strength of the agnatic ties in this society seems to have lain in the solidarity of the men of the village rather than in the patriarchal authority of fathers over sons. A son was economically independent of his father since he could trade on his own while his father was still living; the most powerful social sanction in the hands of kinsmen, that of being sold as a slave, was

[20] For these rituals see Hastings, pp. 73–76, and Childs, p. 39.
[21] *Ondjamba* will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.